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GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES IN BRITISH ELECTIONS*

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[With separate map, Pl. V, and key facing p.432.]

That the factors which determine human desire and action are many and complex is a commonplace. Often enough the only motive force behind man's action seems to be public opinion. This public opinion is at best vague; and thus far no better means has been discovered for ascertaining what it is than elections. Among the many elements which determine political preference there are always the natural influences, and the problem of these pages is whether natural influences leave any tangible or measurable mark on elections in Great Britain. It must be recognized at the outset that one cannot hope for finality in such an enterprise, for, assuming that a group of voters does exhibit clear preferences, it is still a question whether these tendencies result from given natural conditions of environment or from artificial influences. The best one can do is to state the influences, natural and others, as far as they are ascertainable.

It is important to distinguish between natural and economic influences. Economic influences often result from geographic or natural environment; but quite as often they are the result of conditions created by man. Obviously the former, and not the latter, are among the natural forces here meant.

Nothing worth while can be expected from the study of a single election, as the chance of error is prohibitive. But this chance decreases with a multiplication of elections, as each checks up the other and serves to give control of recurrences and variables. The test, then, should rest on many elections, a demand that is not easily met, as election methods and districts have changed so frequently as to offer no long period for study. In the case of Great Britain the present system runs back to 1885, since which there have been the eight general elections upon which this study rests.¹

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¹ The results of these elections are here given in compact form:

	1885	1886	1892	1895	1900	1906	Jan. 1910	Dec. 1910
Conservative, or Unionist....	251	316	268	340	334	130	273	272
Liberal-Unionist.....	..	77	46	71	68	27	..	..
Liberals (Gladstone Lib.)...	333	192	275	177	186	376	275	272
Irish Nationalists.....	86	85	81	81	82	83	82	84
Labor.....	..	..	..	..	..	54	40	42

Chapters 34-36 of Lowell's "The Government of England" are very useful in this connection.

The accompanying map (Pl. V) is based on the large-scale detailed maps submitted to Parliament by the Dilke Commission, to which had been assigned the redistricting of the country for electoral purposes.² The colors in the map represent the political tendencies of the several constituencies in the eight general elections under consideration.³ Being a composite or summary, the map furnishes a basis for comparison with maps showing occupations, land values, physical and geological features, density of population, and the like, with a view to discovering any significant correspondence.⁴

² *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1884-85, Vol. 19 (Counties), Vol. 63 (Boroughs).

Of necessity many minor details do not appear in this reduction; but it contains all essentials and is as true to the original as its purpose requires. The only considerable variation is the introduction of circles into the map in order to provide color space for boroughs. As far as possible the centers of the circles coincide with the actual location of the boroughs they indicate. The symbols accompanying the map will explain all other features.

³ No account is taken of the character of the victory in the several elections, that is, whether the victorious candidate won by a large or a small majority. Hence the conclusions drawn from these elections are open to the just criticism that they would be more reliable if they rested on the actual vote polled by each party. However, the same criticism may be leveled at Parliament. Inasmuch as Parliament is accepted as an adequate representation of popular will, the map, which adopts the same principle, has the same justification.

Space forbids more than the briefest note about English political parties. There are five prominent parties that have seated members since 1885:

1. The Conservatives, or Tories, who are the party of aristocratic and vested interests. They have opposed Home Rule for Ireland and hence have come to be called Unionists.

2. The Liberal-Unionists, who, though having Liberal tendencies, are opposed to Home Rule. They appeared in the election of 1886 after Gladstone had come out for Home Rule.

3. The Liberals, who seek a greater measure of popular rights and control at the expense of the aristocratic group and who have favored Home Rule. They were for a while called Gladstone Liberals.

4. The Labor Party, which, though more radical, has often co-operated with the Liberals. Its influence is too recent to show in a map of this character.

5. Nationalists, the Irish party demanding Home Rule.

⁴ The data for this work are drawn from the *British Parliamentary Papers* listed below, which give the names of candidates and the election results; they do not give the party affiliations of the candidates. The material for the latter is taken from Hazell's *Annals* as shown below, the *Annual* containing the party affiliations as compiled by the *London Times*. To avoid confusion it should be noted that in a few cases the list given in Hazell contains the results of bye-elections following hard upon general elections; in such instances the results of the general elections, which are the only ones considered in this study, were checked up by means of the *Parliamentary Papers*.

General Election of 1885

British Parliamentary Papers, 1886, Vol. 52, p. 199: Return of Charges Made to Candidates at the Late General Election, 1885.

Hazell's *Annual*, 1886, pp. 491-510.

General Election of 1886

British Parliamentary Papers, 1886, Vol. 52, p. 45: Return of Charges . . . at the Late General Election, 1886.

Hazell's *Annual*, 1887, pp. 254-327.

General Election of 1892

British Parliamentary Papers, 1893-94, Vol. 70, p. 423: Return Election, 1892.

Hazell's *Annual*, 1893, pp. 175-186 (contains bye-elections).

General Election of 1895

British Parliamentary Papers, 1896, Vol. 67, p. 145: Return Election, 1895.

Hazell's *Annual*, 1896, pp. 167-176 (contains bye-elections).

General Election of 1900

British Parliamentary Papers, 1901, Vol. 59, p. 352: Return Election, 1900.

Hazell's *Annual*, 1901, pp. 170-180.

General Election of 1906

British Parliamentary Papers, 1906, Vol. 96, p. 302: Return Election, 1906.

Hazell's *Annual*, 1907, pp. 416-426.

General Election of January, 1910

British Parliamentary Papers, 1910, Vol. 73, p. 299: Return Election, January, 1910.

Hazell's *Annual*, 1911, pp. 106-117.

General Election of December, 1910

British Parliamentary Papers, 1911, Vol. 62, p. 272: Return Election, December, 1910.

Hazell's *Annual*, 1911, pp. 369-382.

To do this effectively the whole country was divided into sections. Thus Ireland, Scotland, and Wales for natural and historical reasons are considered separately. England is partitioned according as there are extensive blocks of the same color indicating the predominance of a given party in the region. These sections are shown on Figure 1 as follows: (I) Southwestern England, (II) Southern England, (III) Western England, (IV) Central and Eastern England, (V) Strip across England containing the West Riding of York,⁵ (VI) Strip parallel to the above containing the North and East Ridings of York,⁵ (VII) Northern England.

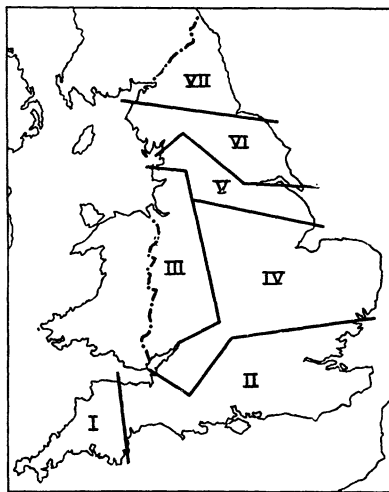


FIG. 1—Outline map showing the sections into which England has been divided for the purposes of this paper according to the predominance in each of a given political party. For key, see the text.

COUNTY CONSTITUENCIES

An almost obvious principle greets us at the very outset, that the Liberal portions of England (colored yellow on Pl. V) are the industrial regions. This is fully confirmed by the occupation statistics in the British census reports.⁶ These show that in 1911, in England and Wales, the average proportion of males engaged in certain occupations selected arbitrarily as useful for comparison was as follows:

1. Domestic indoor service (in homes, clubs, hotels, boarding-houses, hospitals, lodges, baths, laundries, etc.)	118 per 10,000
2. Domestic outdoor service (coachmen, grooms, chauffeurs, footmen, domestic gardeners, and gamekeepers)	166 " "
3. Commercial occupations (merchants, clerks, dealers in money, insurance men)	486 " "
4. Agriculture	835 " "
5. Mines (workers in and about mines)	739 " "
6. Metal trades (machine making, iron, steel, etc., electrical apparatus, shipbuilding, vehicles)	1,050 " "
7. Textile trades (manufacture, bleaching, dyeing, printing, etc., of textiles)	344 " "

Incorporating these averages into a table showing the occupations of the Liberal parts of England (Sections I, V, and VII) it will be found that invariably the industrial occupations run above the normal.

⁵ North Riding embraces the constituencies of Richmond, Cleveland, Whitby, and Thirsk and Malton; East Riding embraces Buckrose, Holderness, and Howdenshire; and West Riding the remaining constituencies composing Yorkshire, except the city of York (see the list inserted before Pl. V).

⁶ *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1913, Vol. 78 (Cd. 7018), p. 496, Table 22A.

TABLE I—OCCUPATIONS IN THE LIBERAL SECTIONS OF ENGLAND

OCCUPATION	AVERAGE PER 10,000	CORNWALL	DEVONSHIRE	W. RIDING YORK
Indoor domestics.....	118	78	128	61
Outdoor domestics.....	166	161	362	111
Commercial.....	486	197	207	285
Agriculture.....	835	2,030	2,392	666
Mines.....	739	1,146	144	2,132
Metal trades.....	1,050	481	320	1,061
Textile trades.....	344	23	58	1,261
Enclosures (according to Slater)...	....	0	0	11.6%

OCCUPATION	AVERAGE PER 10,000	NORTHUMBER- LAND	CUMBERLAND	DURHAM
Indoor domestics.....	118	56	54	36
Outdoor domestics.....	166	175	140	56
Commercial.....	486	276	253	214
Agriculture.....	835	935	1,543	327
Mines.....	739	3,392	1,595	3,901
Metal trades.....	1,050	949	795	1,403
Textile trades.....	344	13	125	9
Enclosures (according to Slater)...	....	1.7%	1.1%	.7%

Considering first the West Riding of York (Section V), the very stronghold of English Liberalism, it appears that mining, metal, and textile trades are much above the normal, whereas agriculture is lower. Without exception the county constituencies show a preference for Liberal or Labor candidates. Northern Lincoln, in which great ore beds are now being developed, and Lancaster constituency of Lancashire, in which there are great manufactories, especially of linoleum, are also Liberal.

Northumberland and Durham (Section VII) with their vast coal and iron trades are pronouncedly Liberal; Cumberland, somewhat outside of the great industrial centers, still has an industrial majority and shows preference for Liberals; though Egremont, because it is wholly outside the industrial region, is also outside of the Liberal sphere.

Both Cornwall and Devonshire (Section I) show a preponderance of agriculture over industry and yet are Liberal, thus apparently contradicting the thesis that Liberal districts imply the presence of a laboring class. One has, however, but to consult a map showing the commercial and industrial districts of England to see that the rule is fully confirmed by the facts.⁷ In Cornwall and Devonshire, the Liberal majorities lie precisely in the copper and tin mine and the quarry districts. That the other constituencies are mainly Liberal, though according to the census agriculture is their chief occupation, is probably attributable to the inhospitable character of the peninsula, jutting so boldly into the sea and containing the hill regions of Exmoor and Dartmoor. For this is an appropriate place to call attention to the fact that poor agricultural regions show a preference for Liberal candidates. On the contrary, Honiton and Tiverton, the good farming regions of Devonshire, in which the bulk of the agricultural population lives, are Conservative.

⁷ Bartholomew's Survey Atlas of England and Wales, Plate 11.

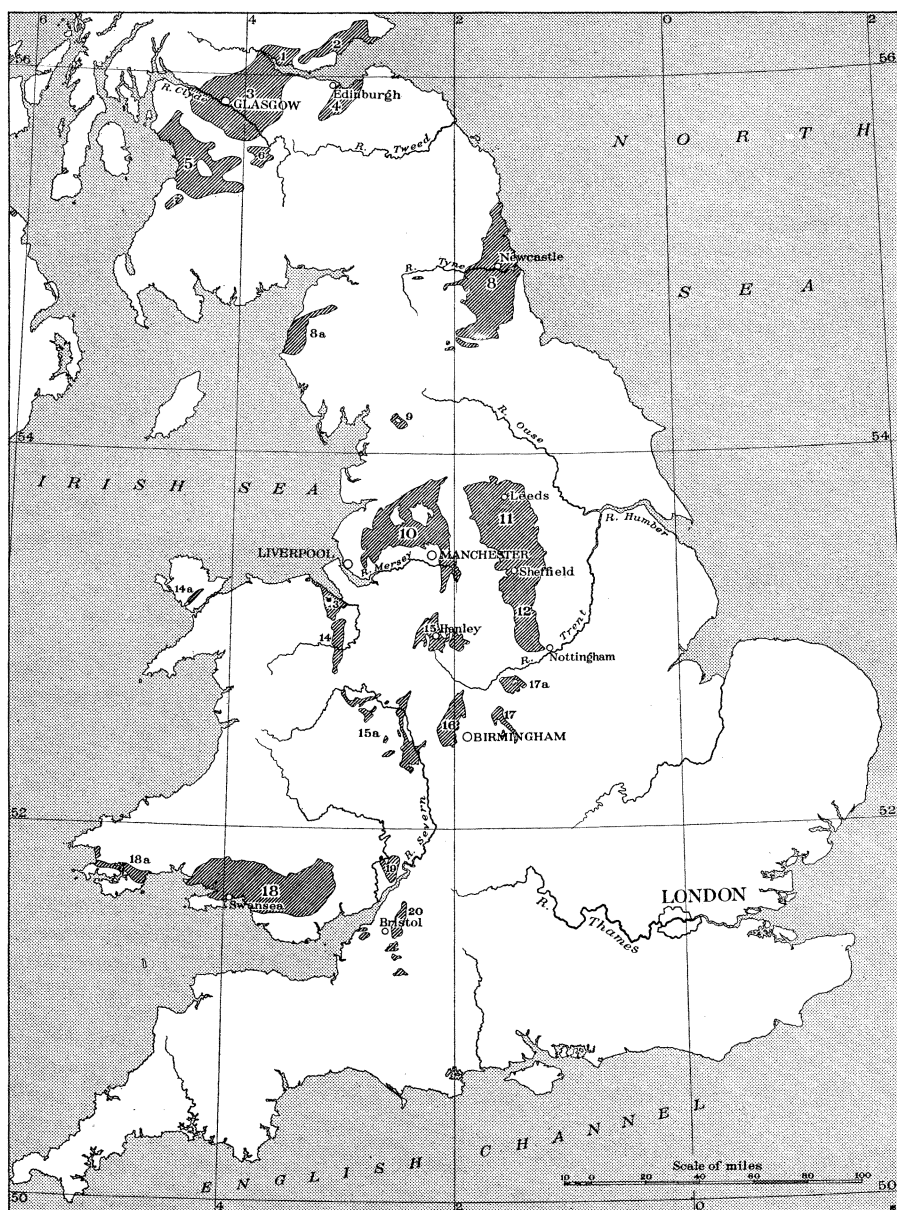


FIG. 2—Map of the coalfields of Great Britain. Scale, 1:4,500,000. Based, for England and Wales, on Map 29 in atlas of report to the Twelfth International Geological Congress, 1913, on "The Coal Resources of the World"; for Scotland, on map in Edward Hull's "The Coal-Fields of Great Britain," 5th edit., 1905. Nomenclature used is derived from both these sources.

Key to coalfields: 1, Clackmannan; 2, Fifeshire; 3, Clyde Basin; 4, Lothians; 5, Ayrshire; 6, Lesmahia Co.; 7, Straiton; 8, Northumberland and Durham; 8a, Cumberland; 9, Ingleton; 10, Lancashire; 11, Yorkshire; 12, Derbyshire; 13, Flintshire; 14, Denbighshire; 14a, Anglesey; 15, North Staffordshire; 15a, Shropshire; 16, South Staffordshire; 17, Warwickshire; 17a, Leicestershire; 18, South Wales; 18a, Pembrokeshire; 19, Forest of Dean; 20, Bristol.

Summarizing: When the laboring class is most numerous in a county constituency the chances are that it will incline to the Liberal or Labor party. The same is true of those constituencies in which rural or agricultural interests predominate, if the farm lands are inferior in quality or if the farmers are themselves small landholders.

The principles just stated for the greater part embody an environmental or natural influence on man in his political action. Geological and other natural factors, such as ore and coal deposits (see map, Fig. 2), waterways, and soil conditions, have governed the distribution of the population and have contributed to creating some of the issues which appear in politics. In this sense we have geographic factors by creating economic and social issues exercising a real influence in politics.

In England, however, the natural are greatly complicated by artificial factors, as will appear from a study of conditions in Conservative England (Sections II, IV, VI).⁸ In all of these there is similarity of occupations and conditions: all are agricultural and grazing regions, all show a considerable though varying servant class, and in all great private estates are extensive.

The statistics upon occupations drawn from the census reports reveal that there are four types of counties in the Conservative sections of our map (colored blue): those in which agriculture distinctly predominates (Kent, Dorset, North Riding of York, etc.); those in which commercial occupations run high (Middlesex and Surrey); those in which agriculture and industry run relatively even (Wiltshire, Worcester, Chester); and one in which industry predominates (Lancaster).

In the counties of the Kent group, in which agriculture is the chief occupation, it also appears from Table II that domestic indoor and outdoor service is relatively abundant, implying a wealthy class which maintains servants. This is further borne out by the circumstance that, though the land is highly suited to mixed agriculture, a smaller proportion of it is under cultivation than in eastern England north of the Thames.⁹ Pasture land, conversely, is more abundant than in the region north of the Thames, running in some parts up to forty and fifty per cent of the area, and grazing is an important industry.

This fertile region of England is one of the strongholds of the landed aristocracy. The abundance of pasture lands signifies the presence of extensive enclosures, or great private estates of wealthy landlords. In this part of England the titles to estates run back into medieval days¹⁰ and there

⁸ Conspicuous among the artificial influences in British elections is the Home Rule question, which has been paramount since the election of 1886. The extent of this influence is best manifested by the strength of the Liberal-Union Party, which was created by opposition to Home Rule.

⁹ Bartholomew's Survey Atlas of England and Wales, maps on Plate 3.

¹⁰ The percentage of enclosures given in Table II are from Gilbert Slater: *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields*, London, 1907, pp. 140-147. Slater's work, however, deals merely with enclosures occurring during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; his figures do not account for enclosures in earlier periods, and hence are not to be taken as totals for the counties of southern England, in which the titles to estates date back into the feudal era.

TABLE II—OCCUPATIONS IN THE CONSERVATIVE SECTIONS OF ENGLAND

OCCUPATION	AVERAGE PER 10,000	ESSEX	KENT	SUSSEX	HERT- FORD	BUCK- INGHAM	BERK- SHIRE
Indoor domestics.....	118	118	153	455	177	149	240
Outdoor domestics.....	166	171	285	1,652	527	499	828
Commercial.....	486	868	351	393	467	230	217
Agriculture.....	835	1,121	1,245	4,436	1,525	2,118	1,974
Mines.....	739	15	57	67	20	12	12
Metal trades.....	1,050	631	714	553	380	702	346
Textile trades.....	344	23	15	33	7	7	9
Enclosures (according to Slater)...	....	2.2%	0	1.9%	13.1%	34.2%	26.0%

OCCUPATION	AVERAGE PER 10,000	HAMP- SHIRE	DORSET	SOMER- SET	SURREY	MIDDLE- SEX	WILT- SHIRE
Indoor domestics.....	118	151	120	92	251	151	106
Outdoor domestics.....	166	506	401	339	599	128	377
Commercial.....	486	174	204	284	720	1,004	190
Agriculture.....	835	1,543	2,011	2,151	819	354	2,253
Mines.....	739	13	197	498	27	10	83
Metal trades.....	1,050	590	351	396	377	638	1,211
Textile trades.....	344	4	75	151	13	4	83
Enclosures (according to Slater)...	....	6.4%	8.7%	3.5%	6.4%	19.7%	24.1%

OCCUPATION	AVERAGE PER 10,000	MONMOUTH	WORCESTER	SHROP- SHIRE	CHESTER	LANCASTER
Indoor domestics.....	118	37	86	102	89	72
Outdoor domestics.....	166	101	248	377	271	90
Commercial.....	486	185	542	234	649	441
Agriculture.....	835	606	1,335	2,422	1,085	587
Mines.....	739	4,225	121	645	134	1,158
Metal trades.....	1,050	974	1,853	841	1,075	891
Textile trades.....	344	3	231	35	678	1,983
Enclosures (according to Slater)...	....	.4%	16.5%	.3%	.5%	0

OCCUPATION	AVERAGE PER 10,000	STAFFORD	N. RIDING YORK	E. RIDING YORK	WEST- MORLAND
Indoor domestics.....	118	52	88	88	82
Outdoor domestics.....	166	151	304	304	410
Commercial.....	486	352	260	260	232
Agriculture.....	835	773	3,658	3,658	2,538
Mines.....	739	1,563	34	34	213
Metal trades.....	1,050	2,196	381	381	366
Textile trades.....	344	96	65	15	144
Enclosures (according to Slater)...	....	2.8%	6.3%	40.1%	.6%

still exists a feudal atmosphere, observable chiefly in the deference of the common people toward the landlords. It is no wonder they are subservient, for they are tenants with leases running normally for one year and with inadequate legal means of recovering costs of improvements if renewal of the lease should suddenly be refused. Quite intelligible is it also that they vote for Tory candidates and that so frequently the elections in these parts are not even contested.

In Surrey, agriculture stands out less prominently than in other counties and is approached by commercial occupations; and in Middlesex commercial occupations far outrank all others. The explanation for this is, of course, that the London boroughs lie chiefly in these two counties and that suburban conditions are characteristic. The portions outside of the metropolitan sphere are, like the rest of southeastern England, controlled by the landed aristocracy, and are Conservative.

Counties of the third type, in which agriculture and industries both figure prominently as occupations, do not militate against the tendencies already discovered. To illustrate: In Worcestershire, the southern constituencies, in which the agricultural population lives, are pronouncedly Conservative. The industrial population is found in the northern constituencies in the vicinity of Birmingham, and its political reactions are away from Toryism. In Wiltshire the three constituencies showing a preference for the Conservatives are agricultural. The other two go Liberal: one, Westbury, contains the industrial centers east of Bath; the other, containing Marlborough Downs, is in parts a poorer agricultural region. Similarly with Chester. The larger constituencies lie in the rich Cheshire Plain and return Conservative members to Parliament. The smaller and hence more heavily populated districts lean toward the Liberals. Wirral, despite its large industrial population, is Conservative, because it contains the country seats of rich Liverpool merchants and because the Lairds (of Cammel Laird and Company) have used their power over their employees to secure a Tory vote.

The same precisely is true of Lancaster, in which, as has already been noted, the industrial elements greatly predominate. A careful study of the map shows that the country constituencies of Lancaster (the boroughs are considered elsewhere) are of two kinds: those having a small area that is densely inhabited and the large districts, relatively sparsely populated. The latter, which lie in the western part of the shire, are with a single exception preponderantly Conservative; which is to be expected, as they are agricultural districts and contain the estates of wealthy Catholic Tories. Conspicuous among the landlords of this region are Lords Sefton and Derby, the latter of whom controls Bootle constituency. The more densely populated districts, which lie in the coal region, favor the Liberal or the Labor parties. In no instance do the Conservatives prevail. The predominance of the Conservatives in Lancaster is therefore more apparent than real;¹¹ in fact, Lancaster has but to be broken into its true divisions to behave like any other part of England; the eastern part of the shire is industrial and Liberal or radical, is, in short, a continuation of the West Riding of York; the western part of the shire, with its landed gentry, is Conservative.

Central and Eastern England (Section IV on Fig. 1) seems mottled (on Pl. V), and it appears hopeless to seek an explanation for so miscellaneous a district. However, the principle just applied elsewhere, that industrial communities are predominantly Liberal in politics, holds true here quite as well. The Liberal parts of Monmouth, Gloucester, Oxford,

¹¹ The circumstance that on the map Lancaster appears almost wholly blue (Conservative) is one of the deceptions which must be guarded against. It arises from the accident that, though both have equal value in representation, the Tory districts are large and the Liberal are small, and the blue is therefore more conspicuous.

Warwick, Buckingham, Northampton, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and, as already noted, of Lincoln, all contain large labor populations.

TABLE III—OCCUPATIONS IN PART OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN ENGLAND

OCCUPATION	AVERAGE PER 10,000	MONMOUTH	GLOUCESTER	OXFORD	WARWICK	BUCKINGHAM
Indoor domestics.....	118	37	113	155	93	149
Outdoor domestics.....	166	101	416	581	285	499
Commercial.....	486	185	241	198	420	230
Agriculture.....	835	606	1,974	2,935	1,143	2,118
Mines.....	739	4,225	699	49	1,054	12
Metal trades.....	1,050	974	517	378	1,377	346
Textile trades.....	344	3	117	113	48	9
Enclosures (according to Slater)...	....	.4%	22.5%	45.6%	25.0%	26.0%

OCCUPATION	AVERAGE PER 10,000	NORTH-AMPTON	LEICESTER	DERBY	NOTTINGHAM	LINCOLN
Indoor domestics.....	118	102	97	60	66	39
Outdoor domestics.....	166	333	295	134	185	103
Commercial.....	486	204	241	257	305	179
Agriculture.....	835	1,966	1,492	813	1,230	4,428
Mines.....	739	323	1,335	2,906	2,530	2
Metal trades.....	1,050	516	677	840	673	297
Textile trades.....	344	2	643	590	378	9
Enclosures (according to Slater)...	....	51.5%	38.2%	15.9%	32.5%	29.3%

Bedford, Cambridge, and Norfolk seem to run counter to this rule, for in each the agricultural class is preponderant. To be sure, in Bedford there is a considerable industrial class, engaged in the manufacture of straw hats and bonnets, for which Luton is famed.¹² But the real reason

TABLE IV—OCCUPATIONS IN PART OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN ENGLAND

OCCUPATION	AVERAGE PER 10,000	BEDFORD	CAMBRIDGE	NORFOLK
Indoor domestics.....	118	97	266	93
Outdoor domestics.....	166	222	301	439
Commercial.....	486	240	233	145
Agriculture.....	835	1,957	3,011	3,935
Mines.....	739	57	14	26
Metal trades.....	1,050	986	309	370
Textile trades.....	344	18	7	14
Enclosures (according to Slater)...	....	46.0%	36.3%	32.3%

why these agricultural areas are Liberal is that they are filled with small landholders or agrarians. These small landholders are often prosperous, for the soil of the Fenlands is the best there is in England; but they have not forgotten the enclosure acts of the last two centuries, and they voice their protest by voting the Liberal ticket. This region is also a strong center of Nonconformity, which strengthens the Liberal vote. And in Norfolk, where the soil is not so rich, there is again the modest farmer with his radical tendencies.

The enclosure acts just mentioned account for the strength the Tory party has always shown in northern Nottingham, western Lincoln, eastern

¹² In Bedfordshire 603 per 10,000 males are engaged in straw hat making,—more than anywhere else in the country.

Leicester, Rutland, Huntingdon, upper Northampton, and in the inland districts of Norfolk and Suffolk. As already noted, in southeastern England the landlords secured their titles in feudal times. Not so in other parts of England, for in these the present titles to the great estates were secured through the Parliamentary enclosures acts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The districts affected by the enclosure acts are well shown by a map in Slater's instructive work on "The English Peasantry."¹³ A glance at this map will show that most of the enclosures lie in that portion of England (Section IV) which is now under consideration.

The extent of these enclosures is nothing short of astounding, running up toward fifty per cent of the acreage in the region about Rutland.¹⁴ In Northampton 51.5 per cent was taken from the commons and given to privilege. The condition thus produced is obviously highly artificial, and hence the influence it exercises on politics is likewise unnatural. There is, however, a natural feature in this connection that should not be overlooked, that in making these expropriations the beneficiaries everywhere selected the very best that nature had to offer, particularly in the Fens of the East Midlands.¹⁵

Once this selection was made, economic considerations became paramount; it became a problem of maintaining, if not extending, the estate. With the rise of liberal and anti-aristocratic parties in the nineteenth century, the legal processes of enclosure came to an end, and with the passage of time there has developed an ever-increasing tension between the vested rights in lands and the other portions of the population, a tension which had arrived near to the breaking point when the great war intervened, and which may yet lead to intestine strife. The rival interests naturally appear in politics, and precisely in these regions of greatest enclosure the political rivalry between landlord and small landholder is keenest. Elections are often very close, and each party resorts to every known form of pressure, the Tories practically dictating the politics of their tenants and tradesmen. Their power may be seen very clearly by comparing the election maps of Norfolk and Suffolk with a map¹⁶ showing the enclosures in those counties, from which it will appear that the Liberals are strongest in the constituencies in which the enclosed area is smallest.

In Wales a combination of circumstances returns a majority of Liberal and Labor candidates. In the first place there are the great mining and industrial areas of South Wales, and the minor lead and tin mines in other parts. By nature also the country is not adapted to agriculture, and here it is true as elsewhere that a hard life tends to produce radical thinking, a circumstance which accounts for the Welsh Agrarian Democrats. This

¹³ Slater: work cited in footnote 10, map facing p. 73.

¹⁴ Slater (*ibid.*, pp. 140-147) gives a table showing the percentage of the area of each county thus enclosed. These figures are incorporated in Tables I, II, III, and IV of this paper.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, map facing p. 196. It seems that with the change in agricultural methods many estates are no longer so valuable relatively as they were when enclosed.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, map facing p. 197.

tendency is aggravated by the pressure of landlordism, which makes Liberal tendencies more pronounced. Finally, there is the Nonconformist movement which demands the disestablishment of the Church in Wales and looks to the Liberals to bring it about. The educational system of Wales, which is superior to that of England, has also been a factor in determining the general result.

Scotland has steadily been loyal to the Liberal Party. Partly this is due to historical factors, the natural caution against too great a centralization of government in the once hostile England. As in Wales, there is a better system of education, and there is the fear of landlordism. Likewise in the highlands there are the crofters, who exhibit the hardy self-reliance and independence characteristic of mountain peoples. On top of all these factors the industrial populations strengthen Liberalism, for it is the labor constituencies about Glasgow, Edinburgh, and the eastern lowlands generally which most persistently return Liberal members.¹⁷

In Ireland the situation is reversed, for there the populous industrial regions of Ulster return Conservatives, while the more sparsely inhabited rural portions of the island return Nationalists. This situation is in part the result of circumstances notorious as the Ulster or Home Rule problem, which are man-made in the sense that they are the fruit of the penetration into a rural Catholic country of a privileged landed aristocracy, owing allegiance to the Church of England, and a wealthy class of Scottish Presbyterians, who developed the industry of Ulster. The religious and economic hostility of these groups accounts for politics in Ireland. It is, to be sure, pertinent to ask why the industrial population in those parts should not, as in England, be radical. The reason is that a considerable portion of the industrial class is Protestant—the Catholic or Irish population in Antrim, Armagh, Down, and Londonderry is less than fifty per cent—and votes with the dominant class, and, furthermore, that so far no attempt has been made to organize the industrial vote in opposition to the Tories. In not a few of these constituencies elections are uncontested. When contested they are invariably close, which gives color to the belief of some that if the Liberals organized and financed an opposition in Ulster they could win from six to ten additional seats.

There is, however, a natural condition which caused the concentration of the great industries of Ireland in Ulster, and that is the adaptability of this region, the only one of the kind in the British Isles, to the growing of flax. This accounts for the flax fields of Ulster and the great manufactories of Irish linen in Belfast.

BOROUGHES

Cities, being in a sense artificial, are more influenced by artificial than by natural causes in politics. To be sure there are geographical reasons

¹⁷ *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1913, Vol. 80 (Cd. 6896), Census of Scotland, 1911, Table XXVII: Occupation of Males by Cities and Counties.

for the locations of cities which account for the great sea ports, the industrial, mining, or agricultural centers. However, these alone do not at all explain the political tendencies of communities.

In boroughs as in counties it is true as a fundamental principle that the laboring classes are radical in tendency and vote with the Liberal or Labor parties. In so far as natural features, such as ore deposits, water-power, or other geographic factors, contributed to creating labor centers, it may be said that natural conditions influenced politics. That laboring classes are ordinarily progressive or radical is known; but whether this tendency is an inevitable consequence of living in masses, or is merely the result of prevalent economic conditions, themselves in part the result of legislation, is not clear.¹⁸ That the latter is a great factor is indisputable, as already illustrated by the political opposition of the small landholders of England to the privileged Tories.

The parliamentary boroughs of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales generally vote as do the contiguous county constituencies—that is, Liberal in Scotland and Wales, Tory in parts of Ulster, and Nationalist in the rest of Ireland—and for the same reasons.

In England industrial boroughs show a disposition to favor Liberal and Labor candidates, a disposition which often fails of effect, because of current election practices, such as the registration of votes, plural voting, and others. As for boroughs with traditional influences, such as cathedral and university cities, and boroughs within the pale of landlordism, they stand with the Tories.

Applying this generalization it will be seen that the smaller industrial boroughs of the West Riding of York, of Northern England, and of Central and Eastern England, such as Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Northampton, Bedford, Bristol, Ipswich, and Norwich (in Section IV), as also Stafford, Stoke-upon-Trent, and Newcastle-under-Lyme, lean toward the Liberals.

The really surprising fact, however, is that so large a proportion of industrial boroughs are for the Tories. This is notably true of Liverpool, but it is conspicuous in all the large manufacturing centers,—Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and Birmingham, not to mention a number of smaller boroughs in Lancashire and Cheshire.

The explanation for this contradictory state of things is to be found in a number of artificial factors chiefly of a political nature, which reverse the natural tendencies. A summary of these factors is all that is pertinent here.

To vote in England one's name must appear on the register. To get on the borough register a lodger must have resided in the same quarters for twelve months and have paid a rental amounting to £10 for the year. With a year of residence and the time that may elapse before the legal process of inscribing the name on the register is complete, it may mean eighteen

¹⁸ The exception in Ulster has just been noted and explained.

months of residence before one is qualified to vote. Obviously this provision eliminates transients, such as many laborers are bound to be. This £10 rental is not high, but it does eliminate all paupers, and with them a radical vote.

Another provision, now almost peculiar to England, is that a person may vote in every constituency in which he is qualified. This is plural voting. In the case of boroughs it means that one has but to maintain a legal residence, which is, in effect, paying £10 for lodgings, to be entitled to vote. Considering that the pollings in England do not, as in other countries, occur on one day, but may run over twelve, the significance of plural voting may be surmised.

The two factors noted operate to eliminate the poor man, the laborer, and to multiply the voting strength of the man of means, the Tory, thus making clear why so many constituencies return Conservatives when one would expect their political opponents to win.

The business and warehouse districts of English boroughs return Conservative members for the simple reason that the electoral system gives the property owners the predominance. If the property owners in the Wall Street district of New York, in which relatively few persons live, were to elect a representative, they would unfailingly choose a stand-patter. For similar reasons the Central constituencies of Glasgow, Sheffield, Leeds, and Birmingham, the Northwest of Manchester, and the City of London are Tory. Why Exchange constituency of Liverpool violated this rule is noticed below.

The Toryism of Liverpool is explained by local political conditions. The Tories have control of the municipal council, and they have used this control to meet the demands of the labor elements by passing surprisingly radical legislation. The effect has been to leave no room for a local opposition party, with the result that when it comes to national elections the Tories meet no real difficulty. Only in Scotland constituency, where the Irish dockers live, are the Tories outdone.

The political complexion of Birmingham and of neighboring boroughs is largely the result of the personal influence of the late Joseph Chamberlain and of his protectionist and Unionist policies. The Schnadhorst or Birmingham Caucus, Chamberlain's political machine, and one of the most powerful in Britain, has with scientific precision returned members pledged to oppose free trade and Home Rule for Ireland. The marvel of this achievement appears when it is noted that in 1885 every constituency of Birmingham stood for John Bright's free trade program. The city passed from Liberals to Liberal-Unionists, and of late has shown a tendency to out-and-out Unionist politics.

To 1906 Manchester was on the whole controlled by the Tories. But with the injection of protection into politics, the prosperity of Manchester, which depends on imported cotton, was threatened, and Tories joined

Liberals to uphold free trade; hence, since 1906 only one Conservative has been seated in a general election. Exchange constituency in Liverpool, which largely depends on cotton trade, reacted sympathetically and returned Liberals in two elections.

As has been noted, cathedral boroughs or those in Tory areas usually seat Conservatives. York is a notable exception. The simple reason is that there is a considerable industrial class in the city engaged principally in the production of foods and drinks, and especially of confectionery.¹⁹

The London boroughs follow the rules already laid down. Those containing the homes of the poorer classes (the crowded parts of Tower Hamlets,²⁰ Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, Islington, St. Pancras, Southwark, Newington, and Camberwell) all return Labor or Liberal members. Battersea has been carried by John Burns for the Labor party. The residential districts of London are strongly Conservative.

The university constituencies must be briefly mentioned. There are six of these, some with two seats: Oxford (two seats), Cambridge (two seats), London, Edinburgh and St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen, and Dublin (two seats). With the single exception of the University of London, which in 1885 returned a Liberal, university members have always belonged to the Conservative wing.

From the foregoing it is evident that geographical or natural factors have contributed very materially in creating the conditions which determine political predilections; and that a multitude of artificial factors have done likewise. It is true in some instances, if not in all, that the political devices of the vested interests have secured precisely the opposite product from that which would have resulted had matters been allowed to take their natural course.

¹⁹ Of the population of York over ten years old, 9.6 per cent. are engaged in the chocolate and cocoa trades. York is the seat of the great Rowntree chocolate works.

²⁰ The Conservative area in Tower Hamlets is a Hebrew quarter whose inhabitants are influenced in their politics by incompatibility with their neighbors.

KEY TO THE PARLIAMENTARY

On the map, Pl. V, the constituencies, where abbr

ENGLAND: COUNTIES AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS

Bedford:
Biggleswade, or Northern
Luton, or Southern
Berks:
Abingdon, or Northern
Newbury, or Southern
Wokingham, or Eastern
Buckingham:
Buckingham, or Northern
Aylesbury, or Mid
Wycombe, or Southern
Cambridge:
Wisbech, or Northern
Chesterton, or Western
Newmarket, or Eastern
Chester:
Wirral
Eddisbury
Macclesfield
Crewe
Northwich
Altrincham
Hyde
Knutsford
Cornwall:
St. Ives, or Western
Camborne, or North-Western
Truro
St. Austell, or Mid
Bodmin, or South-Eastern
Launceston, or North-Eastern
Cumberland:
Eskdale, or Northern
Penrith, or Mid
Cockermouth
Egremont, or Western
Derby:
High Peak
North-Eastern
Chesterfield
Western
Mid
Ilkeston
Southern
Devon:
Honiton, or Eastern
Tiverton, or North-Eastern
South Molton, or Northern
Barnstaple, or North-Western
Tavistock, or Western
Totnes, or Southern
Torquay
Ashburton, or Mid
Dorset:
Northern
Eastern
Southern
Western
Durham:
Jarrow
Houghton-le-Spring
Chester-le-Street
North-Western
Mid
South-Eastern
Bishop Auckland
Barnard Castle
Essex
Walthamstow, or South-Western
Romford, or Southern
Epping, or Western
Saffron Walden, or Northern

Lincoln:
Gainsborough, or West Lindsey
Brigg, or North Lindsey
Louth, or East Lindsey
Horncastle, or South Lindsey
Sleaford, or North Kesteven
Stamford, or South Kesteven
Spalding, or Holland
Middlesex:
Enfield
Tottenham
Hornsey
Harrow
Ealing
Brentford
Uxbridge
Monmouth:
Northern
Western
Southern
Norfolk:
North-Western
South-Western
Mid
Northern
Eastern
Southern
Northampton:
Northern
Eastern
Mid
Southern
Northumberland:
Wansbeck
Tyneside
Hexham
Berwick-upon-Tweed
Nottingham:
Bassetlaw
Newark
Rushcliffe
Mansfield
Oxford:
Banbury, or Northern
Woodstock, or Mid
Henley, or Southern
Rutland
Salop, or Shropshire:
Oswestry, or Western
Newport, or Northern
Wellington, or Mid
Ludlow, or Southern
Shropshire, *see* Salop.
Somerset:
Northern
Wells
Frome
Eastern
Southern
Bridgwater
Wellington, or Western
Southampton, *see* Hants.
Stafford:
Leek
Burton
Western
North-Western
Lichfield
Kingswinford
Handsworth
Suffolk:
Lowestoft, or Northern

ENGLAND: AND TI

Ashton-under-Lyne
Aston Manor
Barrow-in-Furness
Bath (two members)
Battersea and Clapham:
Battersea
Clapham
Bedford
Bethnal Green
North-East
South-West
Birkenhead
Birmingham:
Edgbaston
West
Central
North
East
Bordesley
South
Blackburn (two members)
Bolton (two members)
Boston
Bradford:
West
Central
East
Brighton (two members)
Bristol:
West
North
East
South
Burnley
Bury
Bury St. Edmunds
Camberwell:
North
Peckham
Dulwich
Cambridge
Canterbury
Carlisle
Chatham
Chelsea
Cheltenham
Chester
Christchurch
Colchester
Coventry
Croydon
Darlington
Deftford
Derby (two members)
Devonport (two members)
Dewsbury
Dover
Dudley
Durham
Exeter
Finsbury:
Holborn
Central
East
Fulham
Gateshead
Gloucester
Grantham
Gravesend
Great Grimsby
Great Yarmouth

UENCIES OF THE BRITISH ISLES

indicated by the first letter or letters of their names

D BOROUGH DIVISIONS

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rton
t Derby
land
hange
rcromby
t Toxteth
t Toxteth
n City (two members)
tone
ester:
th-West
th
th-East
ch
th-West
bone:
t
t
sbrough
outh District
th
stle-on-Tyne (two members)
stle-under-Lyme
gton:
t
worth
ampton (two members)
th (two members)
gham:
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WALES: CITIES AND BOROUGHS AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS

Cardiff District	Montgomery
Carmarthen	Pembroke and Haverfordwest
Carnarvon	Swansea:
Denbigh	Swansea Town
Flint	Swansea District
Merthyr Tydfil (two members)	

SCOTLAND: COUNTIES AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS

Aberdeenshire:	Kirkcudbright
East	Lanark:
West	Govan
Argyllshire:	North-East
Ayrshire:	Partick
North	South
South	North-West
Banffshire	Mid
Berwickshire	Linlithgow
Buteshire	Orkney and Shetland
Caithness	Peebles and Selkirk (two counties, but
Clackmannan and Kinross	one constituency)
Dumbarton	Perth:
Dumfries	East
Edinburgh	West
Elgin and Nairn (two counties, but	Renfrew:
one constituency)	East
Fifeshire:	West
East	Ross and Cromarty
West	Roxburgh
Forfarshire	Stirling
Haddington	Sutherland
Inverness	Wigtown
Kincardine	

SCOTLAND: BURGHS

Aberdeen:	Glasgow, <i>continued</i>
North	Central
South	College
Ayr	Tradeston
Dumfries	Blackfriars and Hutchesontown
Dundee (two members)	Greenock
Edinburgh:	Hawick
East	Inverness
West	Kilmarnock
Central	Kirkcaldy
South	Leith
Elgin	Montrose
Falkirk	Paisley
Glasgow:	Perth
Bridgeton	St. Andrews
Camlachie	Stirling
St. Rollox	Wick

SCOTLAND: UNIVERSITIES

Edinburgh and St. Andrews	Glasgow and Aberdeen
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IRELAND: COUNTIES AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS

Antrim:	Leitrim:
North	North
Mid	South
East	Limerick:
South	West
Armagh:	East
North Armagh	Londonderry:
Mid Armagh	North Derry
South Armagh	South Derry
	Longford:

Western:
Durham:
Jarrow
Houghton-le-Spring
Chester-le-Street
North-Western
Mid
South-Eastern
Bishop Auckland
Barnard Castle
Essex:
Walthamstow, or South-Western
Romford, or Southern
Epping, or Western
Saffron Walden, or Northern
Harwich, or North-Eastern
Maldon, or Eastern
Chelmsford, or Mid
South-Eastern
Gloucester:
Stroud, or Mid
Tewkesbury, or Northern
Cirencester, or Eastern
Forest of Dean
Thornbury, or Southern
Hants, or Southampton:
Basingstoke, or Northern
Andover, or Western
Petersfield, or Eastern
Fareham, or Southern
New Forest
Isle of Wight
Hereford:
Leominster, or Northern
Ross, or Southern
Hertford:
Hitchin, or Northern
Hertford, or Eastern
St. Albans, or Mid
Watford, or Western
Huntingdon:
Huntingdon, or Southern
Ramsay, or Northern
Kent:
Sevenoaks, or Western
Dartford, or North-Western
Tunbridge, or South-Western
Medway, or Mid
Faversham, or North-Eastern
Ashford, or Southern
St. Augustine's, or Eastern
Isle of Thanet
Lancaster, North:
North Lonsdale
Lancaster
Blackpool
Chorley
Lancaster, North-East:
Darwen
Clitheroe
Accrington
Rossendale
Lancaster, South-East:
Westhoughton
Heywood
Middleton
Radcliff-cum-Farnworth
Eccles
Stretford
Gorton
Prestwich
Lancaster, South-West:
Southport
Ormskirk
Bootle
Widnes
Newton
Ince
Leigh
Leicester:
Melton, or Eastern
Loughborough, or Mid
Bosworth, or Western
Harborough, or Southern

Eastern:
Southern
Bridgwater
Wellington, or Western
Southampton, *see* Hants.
Stafford:
Leek
Burton
Western
North-Western
Lichfield
Kingswinford
Handsworth
Suffolk:
Lowestoft, or Northern
Eye, or North-Eastern
Stowmarket, or North-Western
Sudbury, or South
Woodbridge, or South-Eastern
Surrey:
Chertsey, or North-Western
Guildford, or South-Western
Reigate, or South-Eastern
Wimbledon, or North-Eastern
Epsom, or Mid Kingston
Sussex:
Horsham, or North-Western
Chichester, or South-Western
East Grinstead, or Northern
Lewes, or Mid
Eastbourne, or Southern
Rye, or Eastern
Warwick:
Tamworth, or Northern
Nuneaton, or North-Eastern
Stratford-on-Avon, or South-Western
Rugby, or South-Eastern
Westmorland:
Appleby, or Northern
Kendal, or Southern
Wilts:
Cricklade, or Northern
Chippenham, or North-Western
Westbury, or Western
Devizes, or Eastern
Wilton, or Southern
Worcester:
Bewdley, or Western
Evesham, or Southern
Droitwich, or Mid
Northern
Eastern
York, North Riding:
Thirsk and Malton
Richmond
Cleveland
Whitby
York, East Riding:
Holderness
Buckrose
Howdenshire
York, West Riding (Northern Part):
Skipton
Keighley
Shipley
Sowerby
Elland
York, West Riding (Southern Part):
Morley
Normanton
Colne Valley
Holmfirth
Barnsley
Hallamshire
Rotherham
Doncaster
York, West Riding (Eastern Part):
Ripon
Barkston Ash
Otley
Osgoldcross
Spen Valley
Pudsey

Dover
Dudley
Durham
Exeter
Finsbury:
Holborn
Central
East
Fulham
Gateshead
Gloucester
Grantham
Gravesend
Great Grimsby
Great Yarmouth
Greenwich
Hackney:
North
Central
South
Halifax (two members)
Hammersmith
Hampstead
Hanley
Hartlepool, The
Hastings
Hereford
Huddersfield
Hythe
Ipswich (two members)
Islington:
North
West
East
South
Kensington:
North
South
Kidderminster
King's Lynn
Kingston-upon-Hull:
East
Central
West
Lambeth:
North
Kensington
Brixton
Norwood
Leeds:
North
Central
East
West
South
Leicester (two members)
Lewisham
Lincoln
Liverpool:
Kirkdale
Walton

ENGLAND

Cambridge (two members)
Oxford (two members)

WALES: COUNTIES

Anglesey
Brecknock
Cardigan
Carmarthen:
Eastern
Western
Carnarvon:
Eifion, or Southern
Arfon, or Northern
Denbigh:
Eastern
Western

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gerston
bury
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Shields
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erhithe
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ridge
ort (two members)
n-on-Tees
pon-Trent
land (two members)
n
Hamlets:
cechapel
George
house
End
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and Bromley
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sbury
Bromwich
Ham:
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two members)

CITIES

IR SUBDIVISIONS

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Edinburgh and St. Andrews

IRELAND: COUNTIES AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS

Antrim:
North
Mid
East
South
Armagh:
North Armagh
Mid Armagh
South Armagh
Carlow
Cavan:
West Cavan
East Cavan
Clare:
East Clare
West Clare
Cork:
North
North East
Mid
East
West
South
South East
Donegal:
North
West
East
South
Down:
North
East
West
South
Dublin:
North
South
Fermanagh:
North
South
Galway:
Connemara
North Galway
South Galway
East Galway
Kerry:
North
West
South
East
Kildare:
North
South
Kilkenny:
North
South
King's County:
Birr
Tullamore

Leitrim:
North
South
Limerick:
West
East
Londonderry:
North Derry
South Derry
Longford:
North
South
Louth:
North
South
Mayo:
North
West
East
South
Meath:
North
South
Monaghan:
North
South
Queen's County:
Ossory
Leix
Roscommon:
North
South
Sligo:
North
South
Tipperary:
North
Mid
South
East
Tyrone:
North
Mid
South
East
Waterford:
West
East
Westmeath:
North
South
Wexford:
North
South
Wicklow:
West
East

IRELAND: BOROUGHES AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS

Belfast:
East
West
South
North
Cork (two members)
Dublin:
College Green
Dublin Harbour

Dublin, *continued*
Stephen's Green
St. Patrick's
Galway
Kilkenny
Limerick
Londonderry
Newry
Waterford

IRELAND: UNIVERSITY

Dublin (two members)





THE PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES OF THE BRITISH ISLES AND THE RESULTS OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS SINCE 1885

58

Scale 1 : 2 000 000
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 miles

Compiled by Edward Krehbiel
Drawn by W^m Briesemeister

Legend

Boroughs returning more than five members Scale 1 inch = 8 miles



GLASGOW

Boroughs returning five members



LEEDS

" " four



DUBLIN

" " three



SALFORD

" " two



ABERDEEN

" " double



YORK

" " one member



PERTH

" jointly returning one member



LEITH

Constituencies always Conservative



" returning a majority of Conservatives



" always Liberal



" returning a majority of Liberals



" always Nationalist



" returning a majority of Nationalists



" vacillate politically



" Liberal in 1885 only



For key to Parliamentary Constituencies see printed list inserted before the map.

The Parliamentary Universities are

England

Cambridge (2)

"

Oxford (2)

"

London (1)

Scotland Edinburgh and St. Andrews (1)

"

Glasgow and Aberdeen (1)

Ireland

Dublin (2)

56

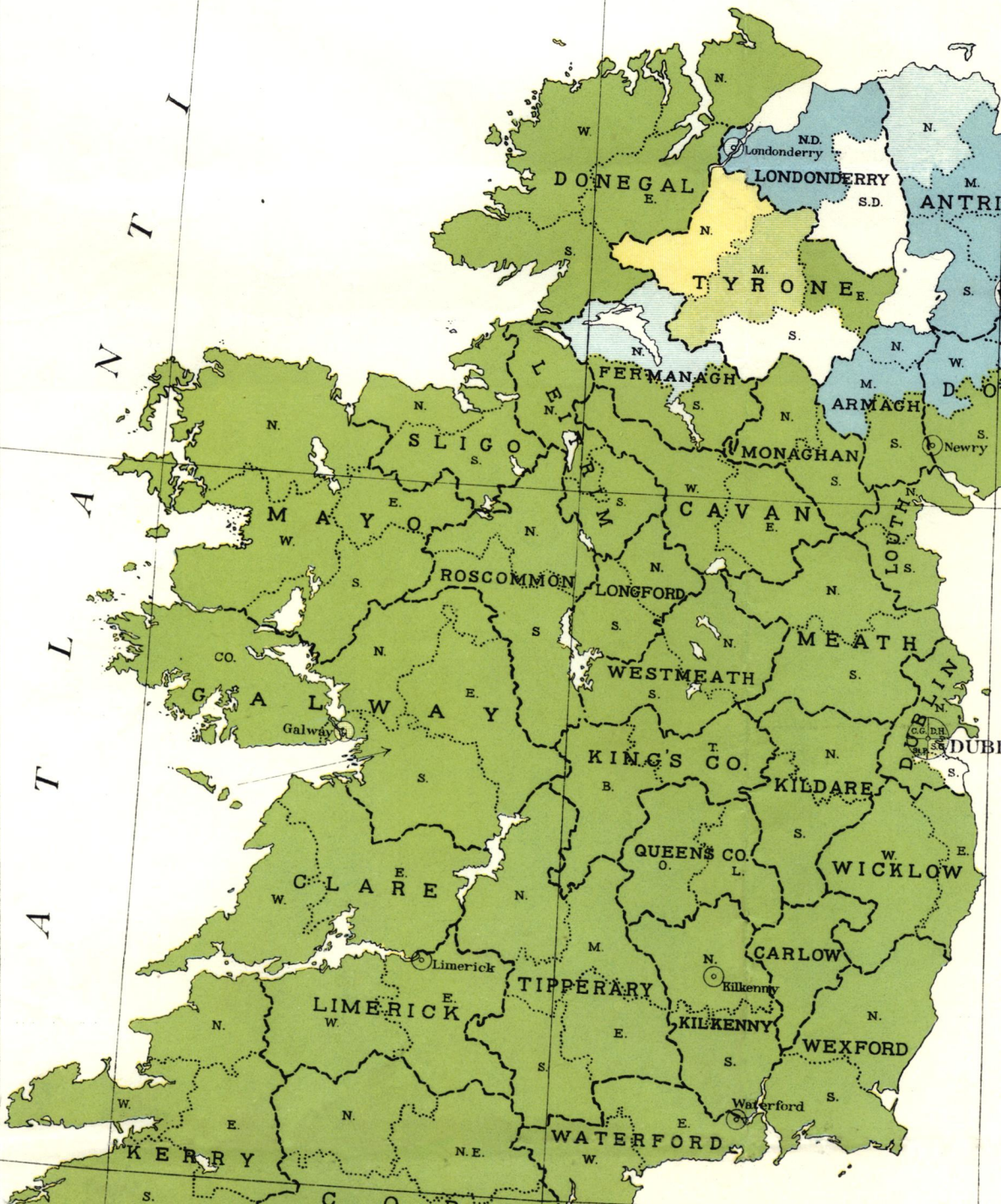
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" " three " SALFORD (W.S.)
" " two " Aberdeen (N.S.)
" " double " York (2)
" " one member Perth (o)
" jointly returning one member Leith (q)
Portobello
Muskelburgh

" always Nationalist
" returning a majority of Nationalists
" vacillate politically
" Liberal in 1885 only



For key to Parliamentary Constituencies see printed list inserted before the map.

The Parliamentary Universities are
England Cambridge (2)
" Oxford (2)
" London (A)
Scotland Edinburgh and St. Andrews (●)
" Glasgow and Aberdeen (●)
Ireland Dublin (2)

